1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

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tudes toward sex and sexuality. Most of the attitudes toward sex are negative and prudish and, at least superficially, in accord with Catholic tradition.

Women have a negative attitude toward bearing children. They try to keep the number of pregnancies to a minimum by long nursing and by abstaining from sexual intercourse. Pregnancy is commonly described as "being ill with child," and pregnant women are embarrassed by their condition and make every attempt to conceal it. There is an absence of sexual play between husbands and wives; many women refer to the sex act as "the abuse by the man," and the genitals are generally considered ugly or dirty. There is a widespread belief among adolescent girls that sexual intercourse is painful. Open courtship is not sanctioned, and girls are severely punished for having any relations with boys. The existence of the double standard and the greater personal freedom of boys and men tend to encourage male sexuality. Romantic love, as we conceive it, is practically unknown; romantic attachments are relatively superficial and easily made and broken. Courtship is an intriguing, exciting pastime but it is always cautious, seldom impulsive or passionate.

It cannot be said, however, that Tepoztecans are puritanical, nor are they burdened with feelings of guilt or concepts of sexuality as something sinful.[4] Rather, Tepoztecans place greater value upon sexual restraint than upon sexual activity; just as they do not encourage emotional expressiveness, so do they not encourage active sexuality. Adult sexual activity is discouraged, not so much for reasons of morality but for practical reasons of safety. Parents fear that a young son may make an undesirable attachment with a widow or a dangerous attachment with a married woman, or he may be bewitched by a jealous sweetheart; they fear even more strongly that their daughter will lose her good reputation and the chance of a respectable marriage. Women are generally reluctant to have sexual relations, because of unwanted pregnancies; men discourage sexuality in their wives for fear of being humiliated by the wife's unfaithfulness; wives fear the loss of income and the poor treatment which inevitably attend their husband's extramarital alliances.

While there is much gossip, there is no ostracism or public denouncement or persecution of those who are guilty of sexual indiscretion. The couple living in free union is unmolested, the promiscuous widow maintains her usual relations with neighbors and kin, the illegitimate child is given a similar if not entirely equal position in his mother's household and may receive aid and inheritance

[4] The relative absence of guilt feelings can also be seen in the reactions to stealing and drinking. Drinking is not considered bad in itself, but may be criticized because it takes a man away from his work and takes money which may be sorely needed for other purposes. Stealing is quite frequent and may be severely punished, but it is detection rather than the act itself which is disturbing. In case histories, informants frequently refer to little stealing episodes without any manifestation of remorse or guilt, but emphasize how ashamed they were when discovered. Men do not appear to have guilt in promiscuous sexual relations with women or in deceiving young girls. Rather, they are proud of these feats and consider any conquest to their credit. There is also practically no sense of moral responsibility toward children born out of wedlock.

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to admire a man who is manly, they describe the "good" husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering. But they are as critical as men are of wives who answer back or resist their husbands, even though they do it themselves. Also, while women unanimously prefer a submissive daughter-in-law for themselves, they do not always advise their own daughters to yield to mothers-in-law. There is also a definite tendency to regard the completely submissive wife more as a fool than as an ideal. The fact that there is no feeling of inadequacy among women for not achieving the ideal of feminine behavior, and the fact that they feel pride rather than guilt in self-assertion, indicates that they no longer hold the cultural ideal as their own.

Women are, then, more in conflict with traditional ways than are men. Husbands generally find themselves in a defensive position in which they must conserve the old order of things in the home, to maintain their control over the family. Men show symptoms of anxiety and feelings of inadequacy because of their inability to fulfill their roles to their own satisfaction. Wives tend to reject certain aspects of their role, particularly those which interfere with their freedom of movement and economic activities. The strong preference women display toward work which takes them outside the home, and their feeling of deprivation when they cannot leave the home, are evidence of this. Perhaps related to this is the fact that pregnancy and bearing of children are viewed without enthusiasm by women. These attitudes of women are in sharp contrast to those of men. The reaction of women to the pressure to conform, is one of a sense of frustration and deprivation. The martyr-complex is widespread among married women, and in telling their life stories, women are often so overwhelmed by self-pity that they break down and cry. They dwell on the sadness of their lives and the faults of their husbands. It is, they say, a woman's unhappy lot to suffer at the hands of men. The hostility toward men is quite general, and women readily characterize all men as "very bad."

The question of authority in husband-wife relations is very much in the minds of men and women in Tepoztlán. There is an awareness, on the part of both, of the growing assertiveness of wives and the continual struggle of husbands to keep them under control. The changes within the village in the past twenty years or so have made this struggle more acute and have brought it into the open. There is a saying among men, "When the man relaxes, the woman takes over." Similarly, women say, "When we give in, the men impose." Even the most conventional women believe that there is a time to yield and a time to resist.

Basic to the conflict in the relations of husbands and wives is the discrepancy between the actual roles and the ideal roles in the organization of the family. Although the wife is subordinate to the husband, it is she who has the greatest responsibility for the planning, organizing, and operation of the household, and for the training and care of the children. The husband traditionally turns over all his earnings to his wife, and she holds the funds and controls much of the spending. In most homes, the husband will not interfere with the wife's handling of the money, so long as she gives him money when he wants it. The good wife is not

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593 take the initiative. It is the wife's duty to submit and the husband's prerogative to
833 demand. It is believed that women have less *naturaleza*, that is, they are sexually weaker than men. Many women enter marriage with the belief that intercourse is painful. Husbands do not expect their wives to be sexually demanding or passionate, nor are these viewed as desirable traits in a wife. Husbands do not complain if their wives are not eager for or do not enjoy sexual intercourse. Frigidity is considered a source of security by the husband, for the assumption is that a frigid wife will not seek sexual contact elsewhere. A husband is more likely to suspect a wife who is passionate and may feel impelled to keep her under close surveillance. Women who are passionate and who "need" men are referred to as *loca* (crazy), and it is believed to be an abnormal condition frequently brought about by black magic. Some husbands deliberately refrain from arousing their wives sexually, because they do not want them to "get to like it too much."

One informant said he did not encourage his wife for fear that he would be unable to satisfy her when he was older. Another informant explained that he did not teach his wife what he knew about sexual techniques, because "that would be making a whore out of her." Few husbands give attention to the question of their wive's sexual satisfaction. In general, sexual play is a technique men reserve for the seduction of other women.

Much of the women's expressed attitudes toward sexual relations with their husbands dwell upon its negative aspects and reveal feelings of self-righteousness which border on martyrdom. Women speak of submitting to their husband's "abuse" because it is their obligation to do so. Most women emphasize their desire
[842] to avoid sexual intercourse for a long time after giving birth, in order to avoid pregnancy. They complain of the difficulty of keeping their husbands away from them at this time, and they put it in terms of the husband not caring sufficiently for the nursing infant.

In discussing the sexual relations of husband and wife, it is important to consider
[585] the fact that there is little privacy for couples even on the first night of marriage, and, as the family increases, there is less and less privacy. In view of the obligation
[864] of Tepoztecan parents to protect their children from learning the facts of life, the prevailing sleeping arrangements must act as a strong inhibiting factor. We were unable to find a single informant who would admit the possibility of a child hearing his parents at night. Also, there is a strong block among adults in recalling ever having heard their parents in sexual intercourse. Tepoztecans value privacy, and, as the children grow up, they make some attempt to put the older ones in a separate room or shelter. Occasionally a couple will creep into the *temascal* (sweathouse), or go into the patio for additional privacy.

585 Account after account from informants indicate that most couples spent their
833 first night with the husband's parents or other relatives sleeping in the same room. Many brides, particularly in the past, who married at thirteen and fourteen years of age and who scarcely knew their husbands before marriage, were in complete ignorance of sexual intercourse and were reluctant and fearful at first.

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593 837 done by the time the husband comes home, or if the children and animals look neglected, he may suspect her of having spent time with a lover. In one case, a husband noticed that the family cat ate ravenously at night as though she had not been fed all day, and he accused his wife of having been out with someone. If a wife is unusually careful about her appearance before going out, or if she is reluctant to have sexual intercourse, her husband's suspicions may be aroused.

The following conversation, or rather monologue, overheard on the Tepoztlán bus illustrates the degree of suspiciousness of the Tepoztecan husband. One woman was telling another of her difficulties with her husband whenever she returned from a trip to Cuernavaca: "If I return annoyed, he says, 'You are annoyed to have to come back to me.' If I come back contented, it is worse. Then he says, 'Now you are happy. Now you are satisfied because you saw the one you wanted to see.' It seems that I have to have a face of wood when I enter my house."

Husbands generally become less suspicious after several years of marriage, if the behavior of the wife warrants it. However, as the children get older and can assist the mother at home, and as the needs of the growing family increase, women frequently wish to devote more time to earning money. For this they need freedom [484] and must leave the house more often, and tension and suspicion in the husband are again awakened. Men are most secure when their wives are pregnant or have an infant to care for; then women keep to the house more and are unable to under- [842] take outside activities. Having many children, one following close upon the other, is a source of security for the men.

Promiscuous sexual activity is considered a male prerogative in Tepoztlán, and men feel under pressure to have "affairs." Although male adultery is considered undesirable, it is also viewed as natural behavior and is widespread on the part of married men. Men make no secret of the fact that they have children by other women and often recognize these children as their own. There is no strong feeling [848] or prejudice against illegitimate children; rather they are pitied, because "they don't have a father."

[589] Illicit relations are usually with widows or unmarried women, but also frequently [548] with other married women. Many men now go to Cuernavaca where they visit houses of prostitution, and venereal disease is becoming more common in Tepoz- [164] tlán.

The "good" wife does not interfere with her husband's extra-marital affairs, but [578] many wives express resentment, especially if money is involved. Some women will openly quarrel with their husbands because of jealousy and may refuse to give them money. This type of interference particularly enrages husbands and often results in a beating.

273 593 Drunkenness is not as common in Tepoztlán as in surrounding villages or other parts of Mexico and is more disapproved of. Most men drink a small amount of [733] alcohol regularly in the evening, "to heat themselves" against the cold air of the fields, but extensive drinking is limited to Sundays, fiestas, or formal occasions. Most wives resent drunkenness, because of the probability of violence and the expenditure

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15 *pregnancy and birth:*

In Tepoztlán it is considered a sin for a married person not to want to have children and not to accept all those sent by God. It is said, with more or less conviction, that many children are desirable. The most frequently expressed attitude on the part of men and women concerning the advantages of raising a family is that children are a source of labor supply and security for the parents, particularly during old age. Boys are much preferred, because they are economically more productive. Although daughters aid the mother more directly than sons do, the large majority of women express strong preference for boys and favor their sons. Some younger more acculturated people occasionally express a desire to have children because it is "nice" or "less sad" not to be alone, and otherwise indicate that children are a source of emotional satisfaction. This is in contrast with most Tepoztecans, however, for whom the economic usefulness of children is the most obvious advantage in having them.

There is a notable difference in the expressed attitudes of men and women toward having children. Women for the most part "accept" children fatalistically as a burden to be endured. "Having children is our destiny and the will of God . . . it is the duty of every married woman to accept all that come." Another typical statement is the following: "There is no way out, I have a husband. If more children come, what can we do? We will endure it even though like pigs they come one after another." It is common for women to complain at having to bear many children which they believe to be a punishment of God. Women consider themselves fortunate if they do not conceive soon after marriage or after a previous birth. Most women do not want to have more than four children; those who have only one or two, or even none, are envied. Twins are considered a great misfortune.[1] A typical reaction to having twins is, "What, am I a pig to have them this way? It is a terrible punishment of God." Many women actively express interest in birth control. There is no doubt that if such information were available, and it permitted by their husbands, a large number of women would practice birth control. Abor-

[1] A similar attitude toward twins is reported in Chan Kom. Redfield and Villa Rojas, *Chan Kom—a Maya Village* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1934), Publ. No. 448.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

842 Abor-
[847] tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife [593] relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, [586] and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel [582] ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure [581] from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who be- [851] come more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a [562] child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de* [843] *familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the [462] care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given [594] as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

842 Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward
155 sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results
864 in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

842 ***PREGNANCY***

[195] The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child."
[843] Sterility (*yomitztili*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages
[171]

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *reboso* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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847 *curanderos* in other villages to "cure" themselves. However, the only approved method of limiting the number of pregnancies is to avoid intercourse as long as
842 possible after the birth of a child.

BIRTH

844 When the baby is expected, a curtain is hung to screen the bed of the expectant mother, and delivery takes place behind this. Poorer families hang up a *petate*. When labor pains begin, the midwife is called. Occasionally the husband will assist the wife, but the majority of women are embarrassed by his presence and insist that he leave. One of the underlying beliefs throughout the delivery is that difficulty is due to "cold" and that "heat" must be applied. The patient lies on a *petate* on the floor, and the midwife massages the abdomen, the back, and the hips, with various
[278] heated oils and unguents. These may be oil of violet, white lily, rosemary or al-
[789] monds, or *altea*, depending upon the midwife. The heat and the massage is to warm the infant, loosen it, and make it slip out more easily.

[278] The patient is then given a mixture of *tlatlazcametl* with chocolate, sherry, and egg, to make the labor pains stronger, or *pimienta gorda* is boiled and given. The abdomen is massaged and rubbed all the while, and the mother is wrapped in a blanket to make her perspire. A *cenidor*, or sash, may be tightly bound around the waist at this time to keep the back from weakening and the bones from spreading and to prevent hemorrhage later. The patient may kneel at this stage, and the baby is delivered on the *petate* and wrapped by the midwife in a clean, warmed, old cloth. If it is a dry birth, the mother is given more *tlatlazcametl*. In cases of difficult
845 or delayed births, the family, at the suggestion of the midwife, may buy a candle for
782 the Virgen de Monserrat, the guardian of pregnant women. The patient measures four fingers on the candle, a mark is made at that point with a centavo, and the candle is put before the image. If delivery does not occur before the flame reaches the mark on the candle, the case is considered very grave.

845 Delayed births are sometimes attributed to the fact that the woman does not bear down at the proper time, and attempts are made to eject the child by provoking
[825] nausea and vomiting. This may be achieved by putting a chicken feather or the tail
[278] of an opossum into the woman's mouth.[10] The tail is sometimes cooked and given as a drink. The woman may also be given her husband's urine or the dirty soapy water in which he has washed his hands. It is believed that when a woman in labor breathes out or screams every time she feels pain, the child rises instead of descends. The mother is given something to bite on, usually her braid, and is told to keep her mouth closed. Even speaking is discouraged. It may be such practices, found in
[152] many parts of Mexico, which have led observers to describe Mexican Indian women as stoical during childbirth. In Tepoztlán, women frequently pray and scream when they suffer severe pains, and only the *más valientas* are quiet.

Difficult births and extended labor, sometimes over several days, are not uncom-

[171] [10] In Tzintzuntzan, the woman's braid is forced down her throat.

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is "clean," that is, when bleeding stops. This sometimes occurs in the first week but more often in the second. After delivery it is obligatory to give the midwife something to eat as an expression of appreciation, but it is up to the family to decide what is given. Generally the midwife is offered chocolate or coffee and bread. Sometimes wine and cigarettes are also given. During and after the delivery, the midwife is not restricted in any way as to the food she may eat.[13]

The mother's milk generally flows after one or two days, sometimes even before the birth. If the milk does not appear by the second day, some midwives give the mother an *atole* of sesame seed, chick peas, chocolate, and cinnamon. Others give *necuatole* or *atole de alegría* made of ground corn, *chile pasilla, epazote,* and brown sugar. Another remedy is the penis of an ox, cut up and cooked. Sometimes the *flor de pascua* is boiled and taken by the mother. A few midwives place the baby at the mother's breast to stimulate the flow of milk. Many babies are nursed at another woman's breast until the mother's milk comes. During the day the wet nurse, usually a relative or a friend, comes to the child's house every three or four hours to nurse him. At night the child is taken to the wet nurse once or twice by the father or grandmother. There is no charge for the services of the wet nurse, but often the child's family sends her some meat to nourish her during this time. Some families are afraid to take a young infant out because of *los aires,* and it is fed cinnamon and water until the mother's milk begins to flow.

It is a common belief that the first milk is harmful to the infant and should be discarded. It is squeezed out and either thrown to the ground (this is called *motlalioka,* burying the first milk), or it is thrown over the roof (*monokia*) to prevent the mother's milk from going away. It is also thought that squeezing out the first milk hastens the flow of the true milk. If the mother has no milk, it is considered a calamity because the cost of a regular wet nurse is prohibitive, and many children die when put on a diet of cow's milk. Canned milk is now used safely but the expense is a heavy burden for most families.

The amount of attention and care given to the new mother in Tepoztlán is striking. At no other time are women accorded so much service and time for rest. This care consists of a prolonged period in bed, freedom from household duties, taking sweatbaths, and abstention from sexual intercourse.

The prime motive underlying this postnatal care is to delay a new pregnancy as long as possible. It is believed that early resumption of sexual intercourse causes the back to weaken and the menstrual flow to begin, thus making conception more probable. Women say that extended rest from work and sexual intercourse can

[13] We could find nothing to support Redfield's statements that "The midwife is magician-priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care . . . during the first week, the new mother and the midwife, who must eat the same food as her patient, observe food restrictions." *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 136. Our questions concerning this called forth the same response from informants in Mitla; that is, they laughed at the thought and denied that it occurred. It should be noted that Redfield's account of the above, as well as other aspects of pregnancy and birth, is based on the report of a single informant and probably represents an individual variation.

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842 846 prevent the reappearance of menstruation for as long as two years. According to them, the ideal length of time to abstain is one year. Some women boast that they abstain for two years, and grandmothers say that in the old days women were not "molested" by their husbands for as much as three years, and that children were often born four and five years apart.

833 846 Today women complain that their husbands do not wait long enough and force their wives to resume intercourse after six months, some even sooner. Generally it is the husband who is blamed for the early resumption of intercourse, but it is recognized that some women are *calientes* and lack self-control. Such women are [853] [626] considered selfish because they are often *añeras*, women who have babies every year, and endanger the life of the child, who must be weaned too soon. *Añeras* are subject to much gossip, but they are relatively rare. Most women are glad to avoid sexual intercourse, which is frequently referred to as *abuso de hombre*, male abuse.

The following expresses the attitudes of many women, "My grandmother told me to guard myself from men for they are the danger. I don't protect myself from work. The thing I am afraid of is the man. My husband respects me and doesn't insist even when he is drunk. That is why I am never pregnant when I am raising little ones." The majority of husbands refuse to abstain as long as the wives wish them to, and many men use the threat of taking a sweetheart to get their wives to comply. The wife who is not jealous is fortunate, because then her husband can leave her alone for a long time. Those wives who are jealous "give in" to their husbands to keep them from going to other women and may resume intercourse in as little as two or three months. It is one of the obligations of the mother-in-law to warn her son not to "molest" his wife and to urge the daughter-in-law not to be jealous. However, it takes money to have a sweetheart or to go to prostitutes. More often the poor couple will resume intercourse sooner than others.

846 [853] [357] The extended rest of the new mother also allegedly prevents backaches, illness, and ugly skin discolorations (*paño*) on the mother's face and protects the baby's supply of milk. Thus, the good husband and father owes it to his wife and child not only to abstain from sexual relations, but also to hire a servant for two or three months. Many husbands are unable to do either. If a woman's skin remains clear of *paño* and wrinkles, it is said that "her husband has been good to her" and that "she knew how to take care of herself." When the couple lives with the husband's parents [606] it is one of the more important obligations of the husband's mother to see that her daughter-in-law receives the proper postnatal care. Normally, a woman, who is married under both civil and religious law and who has had the blessings of both sets of parents, can expect to receive the required care. Because of the expense in- [735] volved, a poor woman is not always certain of getting the maximum amount of rest and attention, but women of more means are always assured of it. Even among very poor families, if other conditions are favorable, women are well cared for after [848] giving birth. This is not true for unmarried mothers, abandoned mothers, poor [588] women without close relatives, women living in free unions or married only under civil law, mothers of very large families, and other special cases.

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854 usual case occurred in which a mother smothered her first two infants. She was severely beaten by her husband and scolded by her mother-in-law and all her relatives. When she gave birth to a third child everyone warned her to sleep lightly and quietly so as not to hurt the child, and her husband said that if the same thing happened he would accuse her of murder. Now a few better-to-do and more acculturated families have their infants sleep in cribs for the first three months, as a precautionary measure.

853 Nursing is not considered a pleasurable activity by most Tepoztecan women. Not one of the many mothers we interviewed enjoyed nursing, and some expressed strong dislike for it. Some complained that it was painful, that nursing made them thin or ill, and that they could not go anywhere without the child. Nursing is looked upon as of the utmost importance to the child and to the mother, since [847] it is believed by many that nursing delays conception. When nursing in the daytime the mother is usually seated, holding the child in her arms. During the first six months, mothers frequently lie down to nurse. Despite the expressed belief that it is improper for the baby to touch the mother's breasts, it is quite common to see babies doing so when they are no longer swaddled, with the mothers making no attempt to prevent this. Also, expressed attitudes to the contrary, mothers appear to enjoy caressing and playing with infants while they nurse. Nursing is best for mother and child during the first three months when the mother is well rested and has little work to do. As the infant gets older and is given over to a child nurse, so that the mother can resume her duties, she becomes more passive and distracted during nursing and may pay little attention to the baby. However, the baby is given the breast whenever he cries and is permitted to nurse as long as he wishes. The breast is used as a pacifier, and almost all nursing children are put to sleep this way. Until the child is weaned he is almost never denied the breast.

Solid foods are introduced to the child at varying ages. Some mothers do not give their children any solid food other than bread or tortillas until the end of the first year, or until the first two teeth have appeared. Most mothers give babies tastes of foods when they begin to grab for things, generally at about the age of six months. The most common foods given to nursing children are bread, tortilla, bean [262] soup, rice, noodle soup, fruit, and coffee. A few better-to-do families of more education give small children eggs, *atole* cooked with milk, and soup cooked with meat.

854 Infants are not permitted to cry, and every effort is made to quiet them. There is an attitude that a crying child is hungry, neglected, or ill, and many husbands scold their wives and get angry when much crying occurs. Women are usually more careful to stop a child's crying when their husbands are at home. Infants are sometimes spanked or frightened to make them stop crying.

854 Children who cry a great deal are often described as greedy. It is said that they 824 will be poor when they grow up because they are crying for bread. If a crying baby is not consoled by the breast, the leaf of the *koḳochiston*, or *dormidera*,[8] which

[8] *Numosa púdica.*